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Subject: *P.O.B. Donbas; do.b.?* ZELENSKY, Pimen Gordeyevich, and ZHLUKTENKO, Yuriy Alekseyevich

Source: O and Y

Date: 12 August 1965

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

1. After much difficulty ZELENSKY was contacted by O, in the following manner: O. had been trying to reach him in his room for some time and had been unsuccessful due to the fact that the group was always busy with other engagements. Finally ZELENSKY replied to O.'s telephone call from two days previously and a meeting was arranged. ZELENSKY informed O. that he would come with another friend, ZHLUKTENKO, to the meeting. O. decided also to bring a friend, W. The meeting took place in a German restaurant and lasted app. 4 hours.

2. ZELENSKY, Pimen Gordeyevich : Ukrainian, born in DONBAS, Eastern Ukraine. Lives and works in Lviv from 1945. Presently is the head of the department of Foreign Languages of Lviv University, and is very proud of this position. Is one of the most influential persons on the committee which reviews applications for entrance to the University. Z. contends that he tries to accept as many Ukrainian students from Western Ukraine as possible and often travels to outlying regions (Hutsulchyna and Sambirchyna) to recruit new students. Politically

~~Politically~~ subject is a typical cultural commissar, a "Soviet man" through and through. Acts like a prophet of the Soviet system, and its defender in all aspects. Refuses to listen to any mention of Ukrainian independence, saying that Ukraine is united with Russia in all aspects of national life. Basically is not a very deep person, who falls into pathos and behaves very emotionally when engaged in longer conversation. Is very strong in his anti-American, anti-Nationalist, anti-War feelings. Operates with phrases like a professional agitator, always has an answer to all questions, and these are along the party line.

Subject is married and has a son and daughter. The son attends a Russian school in Lviv, while the daughter goes to a Ukrainian one. Subject is tall, handsome. Pleasant manners, and quite easygoing. Has acquired Western Ukrainian mannerisms, dresses elegantly. During his long stay in Western Ukraine has come to like it, and is proud of its achievements. Has many Western Ukrainian friends and vacations with them at DORA.

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3. ZHLUKTENKO, Yuriy Alekseyevich: Born in Eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian. Is a friendly person, willing to listen to other than the official party line on a variety of problems such as publishing (he is well acquainted in this field) Subject sees shortcomings in the regime and is troubled by them, also is willing to discuss them. Has a knowledge of Young Ukrainian poets, and literature in general. In discussion likes to stay in the background, and give his colleague the first say. Discusses matters calmly and does not shoot the breeze. Subject is of average height^{5'7"} Presently resides in Kiev.

4. RUSSIFICATION IN UKRAINE:

ZHLUKTENKO stated that there is no planned Russification in Ukraine at the present. Instead, what is going on now is the natural course of events and only they alone are responsible for it. The program of the CPSU, in particular the chapter about "drawing together of nations" is not an official political line, instead it is tailored for a long period of time. At present there are many Russians living in Ukraine, and many of them are still chauvinists. In addition there are also many Ukrainians who help them. (Malorossy) as O. called them, and ZHLUKTENKO repeated this term. These people are opportunists who care only for themselves, and their career, while negating their national pride. Such people are found in every nation, and very frequently among Ukrainians. At present there is much being done in Ukraine to improve the situation, more than is evident at first, ~~the~~ the emigration only reads the newspapers, and this media does not mention such matters. Actually a battle is being waged against the neglect of the national language, against discrimination of Ukrainian culture. These problems are not new to them, and the emigration is not opening anyones eyes by stating same. The problem of small editions of books, went on ZHLUKTENKO, was the responsibility of UKRKNYHOTORHY, which ~~pe~~ operated only on business principles, print only enough to sell. Presently the Association of Writers of Ukraine is waging a ^{fierce} ~~fiere~~ battle with this firm on the problem of increasing the number of Ukrainian books printed. Another reason given was the lack of paper in the USSR.

In Ukrainian Universities, the language of instruction is steadily becoming Ukrainian more and more. This causes a certain problem, since there are many exchange students in Ukraine at the present and they are not familiar with Ukrainian. If there is a small number of say negro students in a certain class the lecturer speaks Ukrainian, but some lecturers

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will change to Russian if there is a large number of negroes in the class. But there are also professors who demand that all students speak Ukrainian in class. Even Russians who teach in Ukrainian Universities learn Ukrainian after a while and teach in it. ZELENSKY gave a few examples from Lviv of this nature, but later it came out that his son went to a Russian school in Lviv, while his daughter attended a Ukrainian one. The reason he gave was that more practical for his son to learn Russian, since he learned Ukrainian at home. Later ZHLUTENKO explained to O. that ZELENSKY tried to simplify matters too much, because in reality there are problems with Russification, adding that they are trying to improve the situation, in any way they can.

5. SCHOOLS FOR UKRAINIANS IN THE RSFSR:

Both subjects stated that there are no Ukrainian schools in RSFSR because no one demand them. When asked by O. if it is possible that out of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Ukrainians in the RSFSR not even one demands to have Ukrainian schools, or at least lessons in Ukrainian in Russian schools for children. Both subjects remained silent on this question. O. asked sarcastically if this question went out with the death of SKRYPNYK, and there is not one Ukrainian who will raise this question. Both subjects replied with partyline phrases that Ukrainians outside the Ukraine can ~~buy~~ subscribe to Ukrainian newspapers, books, and so forth. Source pointed out that this is true, but Russians in Ukraine have their own schools, papers, books etc. and asked if this is not a form of discrimination against Ukrainians. ZHLUTENKO tried to defend himself by saying that he is not too well informed in these matters, and such matters are for the Ministry of Culture. O. proposed that when he returns to Kiev he should speak to BODNAR the Minister of Culture of the Ukraine and ask him how matters really stand, explain to him why the emmigration complains the way it does, and he might get an answer. ZHLUTENKO commented that this was good advice.

6. UKRAINE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION:

After a few drinks O. ~~was~~ told subjects that he wanted to put his cards on the table saying that he and Y. both belonged to the category of Ukrainians which the Soviet regime calls ~~big~~ bourgeois nationalists, except that they were not bourgeois, neither were they the sort of nationalists that subscribed to an nationalism as being a fundamenta

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ideology. Instead they stood on the positions of Ukrainian independence, without any brother nations. And that Ukraine as an independent nation can grow economically as any other nation. Both subjects argued against this theory, with ZELENSKY taking a more active role. Ukraine they said cannot exist as an independent nation because other nations always try to enslave it, and that it has been tied together very closely with the Russian nation for ages. Presently a new society is being built in the USSR and Ukraine is a full partner in this process. O and Y replied that Ukraine suffered very much from its partnership with Russia, in the days of the Russian empire, and presently, during the Soviet regime. ZELENSKY started naming the achievements of Ukraine during the Soviet regime. O. asked if Ukraine could not have achieved these accomplishments as an independent nation without the loss of thousands of its intelligencia and millions of ordinary people. Subjects did not answer. O. went on by stating that Soviet propaganda presents Ukrainian independence only in two aspects, either Ukraine is united with Russia, or under western imperialism, either there is a Soviet form of government or a return to the pre-revolutionary form. Never is the third alternative, Ukrainian independence, put forth. ZHLUKTENKO argued that Ukraine suffered very much during Nazi Germany, and only the USSR saved it from complete liquidation. O. replied that Ukraine was only a territorial factor in the war, at the same time agreeing that Ukraine suffered great losses. Countries like Rumania and Bulgaria and Hungary which collaborated with Germany and fought nazism at the same time managed to come out of the war in better condition. This was the result of their being free nations, with their own armies and governments, and other nations ~~reckend~~ ~~reckend~~ ~~reckend~~ with them. If Ukraine had had an army and government, she would have been an international factor to be reckend with. Subjects continued to argue that Ukraine must go with Russia together. O. brought out the fact that even after the war, Ukraine suffered from Stalinist terror, and SOSURA had to repent publicly in PRAVDA for his poem "Lubit Ukrainu" (Love Ukraine). ZHLUKTENKO replied that presently this poem is being published and read. ZELENSKY asked for the third time, "What are you doing concretely to prevent a third world war" The first two times O. did not reply to this question, considering it a common provocation, the third time he stated that as emigrants

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they had very little say in Washington, or other major capitals of the world. If Moscow or Washington decided to start a war the emmigration was helpless to stop them. But, went on O. the emmigration is trying to save Ukraine from the dangers of destruction in the event of a war. The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council presented a memorandum to the members of NATO and all the major powers, about making Ukraine a demilitarized zone. Ther asking subjects what they, in Kiev, did to help Ukraine in case of war. Subjects commented that this memorandum about the demilitarization of a part of the USSR will never be accep ed by the USSR because it hopes to ~~divide~~ separate Ukraine from the rest of the USSR. The Soviet Union will never remove its rocket bases and armies from Ukraine.

ZHLUKTENKO explained that at the present, due to the internation situation, it is impossible for Ukraine to have diplomatic relations with the US. There are preliminarly talks going on now about the exchange of counsulets with Kiev, and these might lead to embassys eventually.

On the question of "the Ukrainian road to Social ism" and Maa Tse Tung's conception of "blooming of hundreds of flowers", ZELENSKY rejected both, saying that Ukraine has united itself with Russia and other nations in the Soviet Union. ZHLUKTENKO remained silent.

7. FIRE IN KIEV LIBRARY:

(Conversation between O. and ZHLUKTENKO) According to ZHLUKTENKO, the arsonist POHRNYZALSKY was insane. After setting fire to the library he tried to escape through a the window which he broke and in this attempt was injured, and caught by soldiers. The fire was put out by water, since the soldiers did not know that phosporous was burning they rushed into the building and many were overcome by smoke. Also the water helped the fire to spread. In reply to O.'s question, ZHLUKTENKO ^{said that Pohryzalsky} procured the phosporous in a laborat-ory where he had good friends. ZHLUKTENKO went on that if the government wanted to destroy Ukrainian archievs there are better ways of doing it, a public burning for example, or secret transport and burning. O. gave subject a copy of document from SUCHASNIST.

8. STAINED GLASS WINDOW IN KIEV UNIVERSITY:

ZHLUKTENKO confirmed that there was an incident with the window in the university. The reason being that the window was to modernistic and the rector wanted it taken down.

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the artists did not agree and the matter went to the CC CPU and other official organs. Finally the window was removed. O. gave subject the other version of the matter, asking why the rector decided that the window should be removed even before it was completed, and why it had to be broken by a hammer, and boarded up. Subject did not answer, saying that he was not too well informed about this matter. O. gave subject SUCHASNIST with story of destruction of window and photograph.

9. MISCELLANY :

ZHLUKTENKO did not know about the affair of 22 May, About SYMONENKO neither subject was too well acquainted, and had never heard about his unpublished poetry. ZHLUKTENKO was familiar with ^{DU}DZYBA, calling him conceited and arrogant. Added that he fell out of favor for his improper lecture, not too long ago at a meeting where he praised SYMONENKO and called him "our flag", "our example to follow". Subjects were informed of the trip of KOLLOSOVA to the USA and were familiar with the makeup of the delegation. They said that nationalists protested against this group very strongly. ZHLUKTENKO said that he was very familiar with KOLLOSOVA. ZHLUKTENKO said that there were many Ukrainians in the government at present and the situation is improving, but was not sure about the future. Subject did not know about PIDHORNIY., and could not say why there was no mention of him in press for long time, explaining that in the USSR there ^{was} were little mentions of the leaders, this was a leftover from "revolutionary secrecy" and often there is no mention of the leader. ZELENSKY mentioned that he lives in Lviv from 1945 and ^{was} in the vicinity where KOSTELNYK was killed. ZHLUKTENKO complained that America did not give them a visa for a long time. Also complained that they cannot visit Canada after USA.

O. gave both subjects KOZHELIVET'S books SUCHASNA LITERATYRA V URSR, and PANORAMA SUCASNOI LITERATYRY URSR, and LEHKOSYNIA DAHL. Also SUCHASNIST # 1-6/65 for ZHLUKTENKO, who handed the journals to ZELENSKY saying that he has more room for them in his room.

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